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539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atásá). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

• [609] "After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilálgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land."

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539 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

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619 "The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."⁴⁸

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539 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

⁴⁸ Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death."

THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN THE CREEKS AND THE WHITE PEOPLE

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Iaplaiko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis-

²[cf. cat. 116 p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.'"

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

PROPHECIES REGARDING THE FATE OF THE INDIANS

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

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One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, *tápásáná'*, with that for daddy-longlegs, *tápóhsálá*. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

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It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation *Sawanogálgi*, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the *Aktayatcálgi*, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the *Potato*. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of *Tukabahchee* belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name *Sawanogálgi* was assumed by the entire *Tukabahchee* tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the *Sawanogi*."

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the *isfauna* (*Isfanálgi*) which is composed of many small clans."⁹ Today the *Isfanálgi* are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,¹⁰ and they are the *Kasihta* clan "*Is-tau-nul-gee*" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "*Spanalgee*" of *Hilibi* town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.¹¹ Perhaps they were connected with the *Ishpani* or *Sfani* totemic division among the *Chickasaw* which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.¹² This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

⁹ Stiggins, *Ms. Hist. Narr.*, p. 26.

¹⁰ Gatschet, *Creek Mig. Leg.*, vol. I, p. 136.

¹¹ Hawkins, in *Ga. Hist. Soc., Colla.*, vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.

¹² Mentioned by Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 31.

to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole.

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes.

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."³⁴ He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"³⁴ but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"³⁵ and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."³⁶

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly.

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.³⁷ At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind.

³⁴ Bartram, *Travels*, p. 124.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

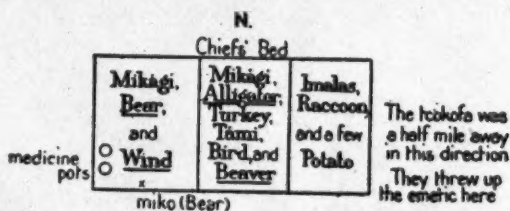
³⁶ For ranking of clans see pp. 42, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 72, p. 370.

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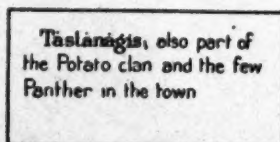
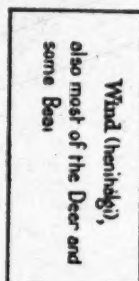
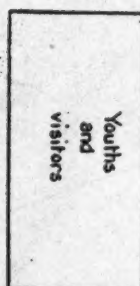
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one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,¹⁴ and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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women entered here



Warriors' Bed

The Aklayatci sat anywhere

FIG. 31.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

Jackson Lewis used the name Talwa mikagi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

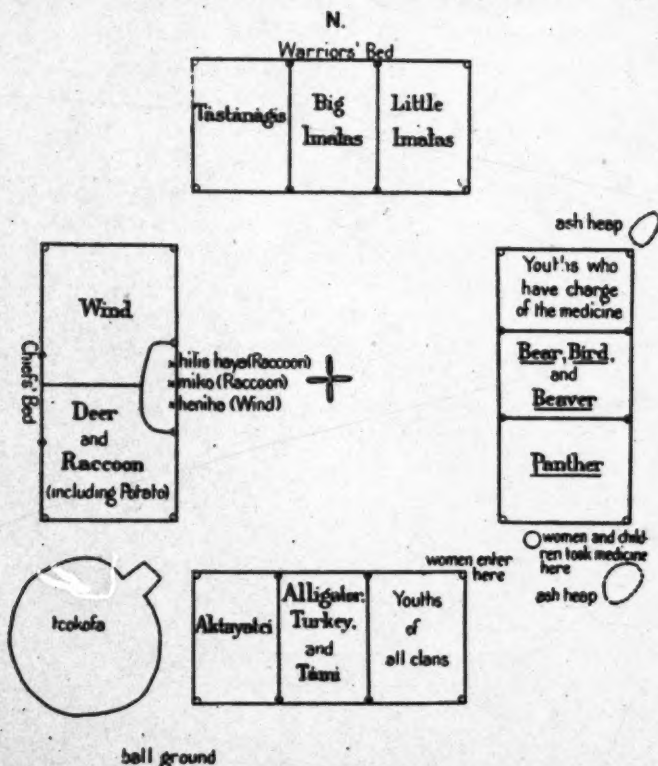
¹⁴ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

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these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciaopofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciaopofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciaopofa belonged. The importance of Otciaopofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

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ball ground

FIG. 11.—Plan of the Keokuk Square Ground (1)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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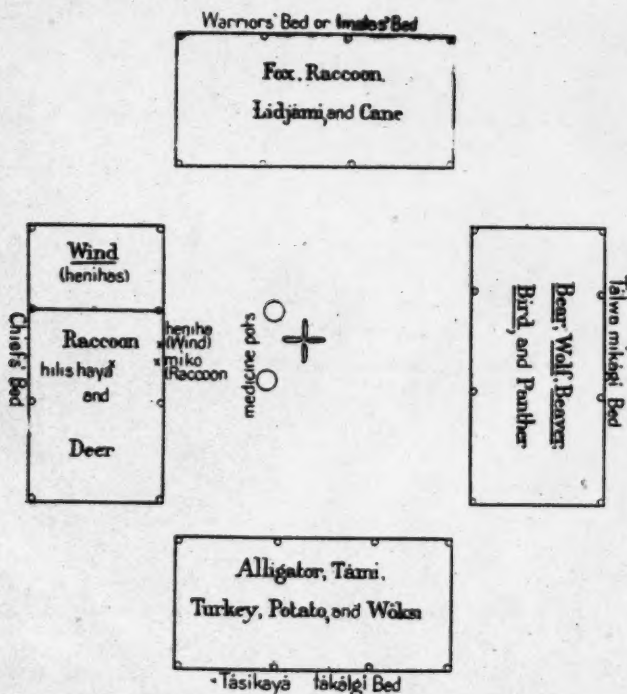


FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,¹⁵ Swan,¹⁶ Bartram,¹⁷ and Adair¹⁸ all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

¹⁵ Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

¹⁶ Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.

¹⁷ Bartram, Travels, p. 267.

¹⁸ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 130.

SWANTON]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.^{12a} Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

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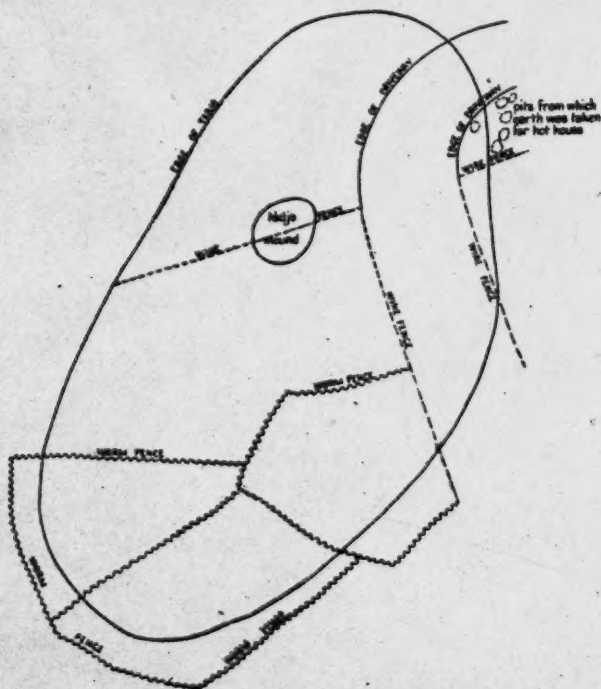


FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kenedjil Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."¹³

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

^{12a} Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 387-388.¹³ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 150.

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[751] The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

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622 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

[838] "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kània he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksinna], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"²⁸

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669 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time children who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

²⁸ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, pp. 156-157.

SWANTON]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched."⁸⁶¹

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan⁸⁶¹ in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called teikteikano' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men."

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)."⁸⁶¹

⁸⁶¹ Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

⁸⁶² Or clan group; see pp. 123-125.

⁸⁶³ Bonn, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, pp. 24-25.

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.
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The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town.

The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in mid-summer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

177 We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part
609 of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.